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(*kokda fala*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*neng fala*). This is a literal translation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in exchange relationships especially in connection with death services. A full description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*mayoa fala*). This is also a literal translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there formalized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, especially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

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585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.
[183] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[584] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

602 583 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[185] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[327] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

431 583 602 In addition to the larger bride-price-dowry exchanges there are the so-called free gifts (*pungbe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 602 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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nitude. Hardly a feast or ceremonial gathering occurred without at least 578
one acrimonious dispute. My first impression was that these debates
might lead to violence at any moment. People shouted at each other
and men grasped their bows or swords in the right hand. They took
short springing steps backward and forward shouting challenge before
meeting the point under debate. The usual preamble was "Hik, hik, my
friend So-and-so!"

Further acquaintance with such debates revealed that they practically never developed into physical violence, at least between men. In eighteen months on one occasion only did men come to blows and begin to spar with swords. Even then the gestures were largely formal and seemed deliberately wide of the mark. Finally, by accident, one man received a slight scratch on the forehead. He immediately threw down his sword and rushed to the dance place to litigate. Repeatedly I had the impression that the principals as well as bystanders were terrified lest a quarrel develop into real violence. In every outbreak of any magnitude much of the furor was caused by alarmed neutrals who tried vigorously to placate the opponents and who shouted orders that there was to be no fight. The reasons for the fear will be more apparent when the nature of group responsibility is developed, especially in connection with war.

This does not mean that there never is any real violence, but it does 575
mean that when it occurs it is usually within the small family groups, 578
where repercussions are apt to be limited. The anecdote (page 60) of the man who beat, unmercifully and without interference, his young half brother, is a case in point. In another instance a girl of about fifteen came to have a bad scalp wound dressed. At the time, she told me that she had fallen. Later I discovered that her mother had struck her with a stone because she had gambled away her own dance anklets in the newly introduced card game that was the rage among young people.

Quarrels were so frequent that an attempt to record all of them 578
proved too time-consuming. However, in even the partial record made, 602
every type of kin was involved: parents with children, siblings with cousins of both sexes, grandparents with grandchildren, aunts and uncles with nieces and nephews. An informant in discussing these intrafamilial quarrels added quickly, "But they don't last long. They must forget and eat together." Again food appears as a symbol of reassurance and [644]
social euphoria. Out of forty-seven quarrels of sufficient vigor to produce a public outburst and to come to my notice, thirty-six were between acknowledged kin. This is not a significant number in view of the high degree of interrelationship within the villages. What is signifi-

571 cast, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
602 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

152 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelangar lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Illness in many be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

154 535 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokak*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdema*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

[578]

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

[533]

[161]

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554 pada. Malesta gave his brother-in-law a broken gong as part of his
578 bride-price but received no dowry in return. Malesta sat on the veran-
dah below his brother-in-law's house dunning for it. He said, "My brother-in-law Maliseni, why don't you give me a dowry?" Maliseni, who was angry at this persistent dunning, said, "Wah! I shan't give you a dowry! That fellow down there is one who can be looked through as far as the Kamang district. He is transparent to the Mating area." [96] This was a very insulting speech, its implication being that Malesta was a poor man of no substance and solidity.

Malesta then went to complain to a powerful other kinsman called Mangma, who visited Maliseni and in a placating fashion asked him, "Why are you like this?" Maliseni merely elaborated his previous insult [96] by saying, "The one down there on my verandah is like civet-cat meat; he is a floating seed. Perhaps you are going to cry?" This enraged Mangma, who then collected a group of his and Malesta's kinsmen. There were five in all.

They armed themselves and stood on their dance place to shout challenge. "Hik, hik, my friend Maliseni! We shall reckon wealth." They hung their gongs on the racks and beat them with the sharp, rapid strokes which signal anger or catastrophe. They brought all the weapons down from their houses. The five kinsmen began to slay their pigs [602] and the pigs of all their kinsmen, thereby making them automatically their allies in the declared wealth feud. Then they set out for Lakawati, where they also had relatives, and returned carrying three pigs. On the ridge above their village they beat gongs and Malesta shouted toward Maliseni's dance place, "I bought your sister. I gave you a bride-price, and you promised me a dowry. When I came to collect it, you insulted me. (He repeated the insult verbatim.) Then I quarreled with you, but it was you who thrust a spear into your sister's carrying basket. You were richer than I, that is true. But you failed to pay my dowry, and now we shall see who is richer." As they came down the ridge they met a party of Maliseni's allies, who had also been out collecting animals. The two groups fought with bamboo throwing-spears and stones. No one was hurt, but a moko carried by the Lakawati allies of Mangma and Malesta was broken by a stone and had to be repaid by Mangma and Malesta with interest.

This type of challenge and encounter, in the course of collecting animals for slaughter, went on for several days. "A man would eat a [262 whole pig by himself. We were sick of meat. Everyone who was a kins- 602] man of one side or the other had his pigs killed. The more distantly related kin of both groups of contestants tried to stay neutral by con-

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tributing pigs to both sides. Women were hiding piglets in the houses so that all the animals would not be killed." 556 578

Then the Male House I* of each chief contestant decided to meet and reckon their tallies. They set up forked tree branches on neutral ground between the two villages. The young men of both sides met there and fought. They pushed and tugged and sparred with clubs. When they finished fighting, the Male House representatives of each side took two tallies apiece and tossed them into the air, saying, "Moon-Sun, we give you these two tallies. If our side is at fault, may our tallies be fewer. If our side is right, hide the tallies of our opponent; make ours flow in like water." 602

Then each side began laying down tallies. Maliseni's representatives would put down one and Mangma's representatives would lay one on top of it. When Maliseni's tallies were finished, Mangma's side still had many. Then Mangma's side shouted a formal gloat, "Sapalick! The rooster's tail droops! You are a voiceless night bird. Our lineage house's taproot goes down deep. You were mistaken." Then they all danced challenge, saying, "Hik, hik! my friend Maliseni, sit quietly; don't talk. We are the ones to talk. We are a bird with a bell-like voice; you are a silent night bird."

After this climax of the contest there was an all-night dance. At dawn the winners gave to their six Male House kin for their services a series of graded payments that amounted to about twenty-five dollars in gongs and mokos plus various pigs and a sword. In addition, all the pigs used had to be paid for. 535 602 437

For five years after this event Maliseni and his rivals avoided each other. Finally the winners sent a go-between to Maliseni with offers of a peacemaking feast on the spot where the reckoning had taken place. Here the principals exchanged areca, rice cones, and meat. Each side ate the other's food, and peace was restored. At least the contestants no longer avoided each other. 578

This particular contest broke out over an affinal exchange. It involved many people who had no particular interest in losing the pigs they were raising for other purposes. It failed also to settle the hostility between Maliseni and some of his opponents. About ten years later the rivalry broke out once more, this time between Maliseni and Malefani, one of Mangma's and Maleata's chief supporters. This time the precipitating factor was that Malefani's three young sons refused to let Maliseni join them in a rat hunt. Maliseni was angry and shouted at the boys, "I'll hit you if you don't wish me to go with you. Go copulate with a 556 578

* See page 11.

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556 578 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 602 [764] In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 602 154 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 [177] In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still [154] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

695 681 627 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvious intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this [695]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 681
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (*naluel, nobuor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure [602]
profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price de- [558]
manded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [183]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [177]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 686
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 627
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

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berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of 721
the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through 726
ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder. Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be arranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. However, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were [571]
still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walking distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take di- 602
rect vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsi- 721
bility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must 432
buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*bamumma*) consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum expenditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and 432
slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. 262
The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with 727
ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the container again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contami- [773]
nating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, [431]
which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That 602

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is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

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SATELLITES

536 578 182 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 571 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 556 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor [462] 554 602 571 makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assistance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satellite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the childhood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemau of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fanseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamau of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakalieta of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikalieta of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Manimale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Padatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

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426 This he was able
765 to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose
[571] satellite he was.

626 Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin.
●[602] This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the
426 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through success-
627 fully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
[602 satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
571] There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
627 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
425 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
425 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

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159 next the older men called us all again to go to Muruwating, where the dead man had kin. I said, "Yesterday I fell. Today I had better stay and beat gongs. You can go." I and my friends stayed home; the older men went to Muruwating, where they were given a goat. They were going to save the goat for four days for the Hevelakang feast, but the goat went crazy and butted me in the stomach. Therefore the older people decided to kill it the next day for the Hevelaberka feast. They were afraid it might kill a child. For the Hevelakang they used only a small pig. Father went to Metingfui with a large gong as a dowry, and they gave him a big pig as a bride-price. Four men carried it back. They saved the pig for the Rolik feast three months later. Father gave a big feast at that time; thirty gongs and mokos came in.

In two months Tilapada, my maternal grandmother, died. People came to call mother and told her that her mother had defecated in her loincloth and didn't drink any more. So mother went. Her mother wouldn't swallow food. She died. They carried her to Dikimpe. Her other children [stepchildren], Manifani, Langmani, and Lakamau, said she had to be buried with the Senhieta lineage of her husband. But father said, "She can be buried with either the Senhieta or with her own lineage, the Maughieta, either above or below the village." Then Tilapada came back to life and said, "No, I must return to my fathers; bury me with the Maughieta. I can also be buried with Senhieta, but my Senhieta children have bad voices and talk roughly. Better bury me with the Maughieta." So they carried her to her father's house. That night Manifani spoke to her, "Mother, it is now the hungry season. Think of me if I go to ask people for food for your feasts. People won't give it to me." [He was asking his mother to send her soul with him to give him luck in raising the necessary death feast provisions.] But she didn't speak to him. She just grunted. Then father talked to her, "Mother, at present there is neither corn, nor beans, nor rice. I don't have gongs or mokos either. Think of me." So she said, "Oh, your gongs and mokos are many. You will have no trouble. You will also be given food. Now the people of Sehiek [village of the dead] want me to go. But you will have no trouble." Then she died. Father went to get food, gongs, and mokos. He had to speak once only and people gave him what he asked for. But Manifani and his brothers got nothing. They didn't make a feast for their mother. Only father did.

[192 426 602] At the time we were making Tilapada's feasts, father told me to go ask our various kin for pigs, and if they didn't give them, just to shoot the pigs in their pen; he would pay for them later on. I saw that Ataka-

613 476 A more usual outlay is for the building of lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of all the descendants in the male lines of a designated forebear, and the houses become the center of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole community is invited to help. In return the [437] helpers are feasted, and that means both buying pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may be a dozen or more such feasts in the course of erecting a lineage house, construction may progress in short stages over a period of years to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

437 764 602 The death feasts are another object of expenditure. When a man dies, certain of his kin, the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute the shroud, grave services, pigs and mokos. These preliminary feasts and services occur during the first eight days after death. Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years later, two return feasts must be given at which the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon by negotiation. They may range as high as three hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously not all the dead get such elaborate financial treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites for children or young men and women may be made as a side issue when feasts for their more important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved in these elaborate and long-drawn-out transactions must be carried in people's heads. There is no system of writing, not even a system of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One man who gave such a feast summarized the transactions in connection with that ceremony alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors involving two hundred items to remember. This was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is true that the singular accomplishments of the Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled by an equally singular lack of interest in what we should call abstract thinking or theorising.

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583 606 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship which a man establishes in his lifetime is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially financial—the establishment of a system of group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The dowry, however, is only about a third of the bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at once, but gradually over a period of many years. The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he pays the first and largest moko. After that the

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